

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10  
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HA-05 /109 W  
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O 230157Z MAR 78  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0211  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 01048

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

E.O. 11652:GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: DRAFT COVER LETTER FOR SOUTH AFRICA

1. FOLLOWING PARA 2 IS UK DRAFT COVERING LETTER TO SOUTH AFRICA ON THE REVISED PROPOSALS, SENT FOR YOUR COMMENTS.
2. PROPOSALS THEMSELVES BEING SENT SEPTEL.
3. FOR PRETORIA: PLEASE PASS TEXT TO CANADIAN EMBASSY.  
TEXT OF LETTER FOLLOWS:  
DRAFT MESSAGE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

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1. ON 2 FEB THE REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS PROVIDED YOUR GOVERNMENT WITH A COPY OF A PROPOSAL OF OURS FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION CONSISTENT WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. IN DOING SO, THEY EXPLAINED THAT THEY BELIEVED THAT THE PROPOSAL REPRESENTED A FAIR AND REASONABLE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT, AND THAT IT WAS TO BE REGARDED AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AT

THE TALKS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN NEW YORK, AT BOTH OFFICIAL AND MINISTERIAL LEVEL, BETWEEN 9 AND 12 FEBRUARY.

2. THESE TALKS ENCOURAGED US TO PURSUE OUR EFFORTS TO DEVISE A PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE INTERNATIONALLY BUT WHICH WOULD, AT THE SAME TIME, SATISFY THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PARTIES. ACCORDINGLY, OUR REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SINCE FEBRUARY BEEN ENGAGED IN INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT IN A SERIOUS EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE REMAINING PROBLEMS. SOME OF YOUR DIFFICULTIES WERE MATTERS OF DRAFTING: OTHERS WERE MORE SUBSTANTIVE. OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED EVERY POINT THAT WAS RAISED, AND, AS YOU WILL KNOW, HAVE MADE SOME AMENDMENTS TO CLARIFY THE TEXT. WE HAVE NOW INSTRUCTED OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO PROVIDE YOU WITH OUR REVISED PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA LEADING TO EARLY MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE. WE ARE SENDING THE PROPOSAL, WHICH HAS THE UNRESERVED BACKING OF OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS, TO THE OTHER PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED.

3. IT IS NOT OUR INTENTION TO DISCUSS THE DETAILED WORDING OF THE PROPOSAL. OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE VERY READY TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS THAT YOU MAY HAVE. IT MAY, HOWEVER, BE HELPFUL IF WE EXPLAIN THE GENERAL THINKING BEHIND OUR PROPOSAL, AND THEN COMMENT BRIEFLY ON SOME OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE MORE IMPORTANT ISSUES WHICH BOTH YOU AND WE HAVE IDENTIFIED IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS.

4. WE FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT A PEACEFUL AND REALISTIC SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION IS ONLY POSSIBLE IF ALL SIDES, INCLUDING BOTH YOU AND THE UNITED NATIONS, ARE PREPARED TO SET ON ONE SIDE THE LONG STANDING LEGAL DISPUTES AS TO WHO HAS SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OVER NAMIBIA THAT HAVE BEDEVILLED CONSIDERATION OF THIS QUESTION FOR OVER THIRTY YEARS. YOU WILL BE AWARE BOTH OF OUR VIEWS, AND OF THOSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON THIS MATTER. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, HAVE QUICKLY REACHED A DEAD END IN OUR NEGOTIATING EFFORTS IF WE HAD SOUGHT TO RESOLVE THESE DISPUTES ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. WE ARE SURE YOU WOULD AGREE WITH US THAT IT IS THE INTERESTS AND WISHES OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, WHATEVER THEIR RACE OR POLITICAL PARTY, THAT ARE OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE. WE WANT NAMIBIA TO PROCEED TO AN EARLY AND ASSURED INDEPENDENCE FOLLOWING FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS BY THE INHABITANTS OF THE TERRITORY TO ELECT A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. WE BASE OURSELVES FIRMLY UPON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385, WHICH CALLED INTER ALIA FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, WHICH RECEIVED

THE UNANIMOUS SUPPORT OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND WHICH ENJOYS THE BROAD SUPPORT OF THE INTER-NATIONAL COMMUNITY.

5. WE HAVE ALSO RECOGNISED, AND WE BELIEVE THE INTER-NATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL RECOGNISE, THAT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, AND LEAVING QUESTIONS OF SOVEREIGN RIGHTS ON ONE SIDE, IT IS INDISPENSABLE THAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY SHOULD REMAIN IN BEING UNTIL INDEPENDENCE. WE ARE AS ALIVE AS YOU TO THE NEED TO MAINTAIN ESSENTIAL SERVICES IN THE TERRITORY, AND TO PROVIDE A CONTINUING ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE EMERGENCE OF NAMIBIA TO NATIONHOOD IN THE BEST CIRCUMSTANCES.

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6. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN ALIVE, HOWEVER, TO THE VIEWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND TO THE REQUIREMENT THAT JUSTICE NOT ONLY BE DONE BUT BE SEEN TO BE DONE. FOR

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0212

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

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FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

HISTORICAL AND LEGAL REASONS, THE DECOLONISATION OF NAMIBIA HAS PROVED A PECULIARLY DIFFICULT PROBLEM. WHATSOEVER YOUR VIEWS MAY BE, IT IS A FACT THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS A PARTICULAR POSITION IN RESPECT OF NAMIBIA. WE HAVE THEREFORE PROPOSED A SOLUTION WHEREBY THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL, WHO ADMINISTERS THE TERRITORY, WILL NEED TO SATISFY THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE THAT ANY MEASURES HE PUTS FORWARD AFFECTING THE POLITICAL PROCESS ARE FAIR, APPROPRIATE AND CONSISTENT WITH THE DETAILS OF OUR PROPOSAL. WE BELIEVE THAT THESE TWO OFFICIALS AND THEIR STAFF, WORKING TOGETHER, WILL BE ABLE TO STEER THE TERRITORY SUCCESSFULLY THROUGH THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND THAT INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED ELECTIONS WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR THE RECOGNITION OF AN

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INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA AS AN EQUAL MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

7. WE ARE AS CONCERNED AS YOU ARE THAT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD SHOULD BE STABLE AND PEACEFUL. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR PROPOSAL FULFILLS THIS REQUIREMENT. WE RECOGNISE THAT YOU MAY HAVE DIFFERENT VIEWS. WE ASK YOU, HOWEVER, TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY THE DANGERS OF A SITUATION IN WHICH NAMIBIA PROCEEDS TO INDEPENDENCE UNILATERALLY, WITHOUT THE GOODWILL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. FIGHTING WILL CONTINUE, THERE WILL BE DEMANDS THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE OSTRACISED, AND IT IS NOT SELF-EVIDENT THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO REDUCE ITS OWN PRESENT HEAVY INVOLVEMENT IN THE TERRITORY'S AFFAIRS. NO ONE CAN GUARANTEE A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD FREE OF RISKS. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT WE HAVE MADE EVERY EFFORT IN OUR PROPOSAL TO TAKE POSSIBLE RISKS INTO ACCOUNT AND TO FORESTALL THEM, AND WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE RISKS OF A CONTESTED INDEPENDENCE ARE AT LEAST AS GREAT, IF NOT GREATER.

8. IN OUR DISCUSSIONS, YOU HAVE IDENTIFIED A NUMBER OF POINTS WHICH CAUSE YOU PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY. IT APPEARS THAT THE THREE MAJOR ONES ARE THE RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE; THE UNITED NATIONS MILITARY CONTINGENT; AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, INCLUDING ANY PROVISIONS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

9. THE FIRST TWO QUESTIONS BOTH HAVE TO DO WITH THE

MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER IN NAMIBIA DURING THE  
TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, A COMMON CONCERN OF YOUR GOVERNMENT  
AND OURS. OUR REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ALREADY EXPLAINED  
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TO YOU THAT OUR PROPOSAL FOR A RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN  
FORCE OF 1500, TO BE CONCENTRATED AT GROOTFONTEIN  
OR OSHIVELLA OR BOTH, TOOK INTO ACCOUNT BOTH YOUR  
GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE TO MAINTAIN A CONTINUING MILITARY  
PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA DURING THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN, AND  
THE NEED TO SATISFY THE UN THAT SUCH A PRESENCE COULD  
NOT INTERFERE IN THE CAMPAIGN. IT IS A FACT OF LIFE  
THAT THERE IS A STRONG UNDERCURRENT OF INTERNATIONAL  
OPINION, BY NO MEANS ALL EXTREMIST, AGAINST  
THE MAINTENANCE OF ANY SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE IN NAMIBIA.  
WE HAVE DEVOTED MUCH EFFORT TO PERSUADING THOSE CONCERNED  
THAT THE RETENTION OF A SMALL SOUTH AFRICAN CONTINGENT  
WOULD NOT AFFECT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, AND WE THINK  
THERE IS NOW MORE AWARENESS BOTH OF YOUR POSITION AND OF  
THE POSITION OF THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES INSIDE  
NAMIBIA WHO HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE  
IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR TROOPS. THE PROBLEM OF  
PROVIDING LOGISTIC SUPPORT FOR YOUR RESIDUAL FORCE, WITH-  
IN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR PROPOSAL, SHOULD NOT  
PROVE INSUPERABLE. WE HAVE ASSURED YOU THAT WE FULLY  
RECOGNISE THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE PROTECTION, WHETHER BY  
THE UN OR BY SOUTH AFRICAN CIVILIANS, OF THE NORTHERN  
INSTALLATIONS. WE HAVE OUTLINED TO YOU THE DISCUS-  
SIONS, WHICH WE SHALL CONTINUE TO PURSUE, THAT WE HAVE  
HAD ON WAYS OF ESTABLISHING PEACEFUL CONDITIONS ALONG  
THE NORTHERN BORDER. WE HAVE ALSO EMPHASISED THE IMPOR-  
TANT ROLE THAT A NON-POLITICAL POLICE FORCE WILL HAVE IN  
MAINTAINING THE PEACE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. WE  
BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR  
TO BEAR IN MIND IS THAT OUR PROPOSAL PROVIDES IN EFFECT  
FOR A THREE-MONTH PERIOD, FOLLOWING A GENERAL CESSATION  
OF HOSTILITIES, FOR THE EMERGENCE OF SETTLED AND PEACEFUL  
CONDITIONS IN THE TERRITORY. THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL  
AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL ASSESS THE SITUATION  
AS IT DEVELOPS AND WILL CERTAINLY HAVE TO CONSIDER WHAT  
MEASURES WILL BE NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER AND  
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TO PREVENT INFILTRATION OR INTIMIDATION.

10. THAT BRINGS US TO THE QUESTION OF THE UN MILITARY

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FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

CONTINGENT. WE WELCOME YOUR READINESS NOT TO INSIST  
THAT OUR PROPOSALS SHOULD CONTAIN A MAXIMUM FIGURE FOR  
THE CONTINGENT. WE HAVE RESISTED ALL EFFORTS BY OTHER  
PARTIES TO IMPOSE A FIGURE, WHICH WOULD NO DOUBT BE  
DIFFERENT FROM YOURS. WE BELIEVE WE HAVE TAKEN FULL  
ACCOUNT OF YOUR POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES, IN LEAVING THE  
SECRETARY-GENERAL TO DETERMINE THE SIZE, COMPOSITION AND  
DEPLOYMENT OF THE CONTINGENT. WE HAVE EXPLICITLY PRO-  
VIDED FOR HIM TO CONSULT ALL THOSE CONCERNED WITH THE  
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT, AND WE HAVE TOLD YOU  
THAT THESE WILL OF NECESSITY INCLUDE THE ADMINISTRATOR-  
GENERAL AND YOUR GOVERNMENT. WE BELIEVE THAT THE  
SECRETARY-GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL  
CARRY OUT THEIR DUTIES IMPARTIALLY AND NEUTRALLY, AND  
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THAT IT IS QUITE WRONG TO CONSIDER A UN PRESENCE ESTABLISHED BY VIRTUE OF A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, TO DO A SPECIFIC JOB, AS BIASED IN FAVOUR OF ANY ONE PARTY IN NAMIBIA. THE UN WILL BE THERE TO HELP, NOT TO HINDER, THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL CONDITIONS. IF ANY NAMIBIAN PARTY DELIBERATELY VIOLATES THE AGREEMENT, FOLLOWING THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES, THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL NEED TO CONSIDER, TOGETHER WITH THE AUTHORITIES, WHAT SHOULD BE DONE IN THESE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES. OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS, AS MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND AS MAJOR POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FINANCING OF THE UN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA, WILL BE KEEPING A VERY CLOSE WATCH ON THE SITUATION.

11. DATE OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE RESIDUAL FORCE.

12. WE HAVE ALREADY EXPLAINED TO YOU THAT WE HAVE TRIED TO SPELL OUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN WAYS WHICH WOULD NOT CAUSE YOU POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES, WHILST PRESERVING OUR POSITION THAT THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST SATISFY HIMSELF AS TO ALL PROPOSALS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL THAT MIGHT AFFECT THE POLITICAL PROCESS. WE SPECIFICALLY CALL UPON THESE TWO OFFICIALS TO WORK TOGETHER; AND WE BELIEVE, AS A MATTER OF PRACTICAL POLITICS, THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS THAT WE HAVE DEVISED CAN ONLY WORK SMOOTHLY IF THEY CONSULT EACH OTHER INFORMALLY AND SEEK TO AVOID, WHEREVER POSSIBLE, MAGNIFYING DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM. WE HAVE ALSO EXPLAINED TO YOU WHY WE BELIEVE THAT A GENERAL DISPUTE SETTLEMENT MECHANISM WOULD CREATE MORE PROBLEMS THAN IT WOULD SOLVE, BOTH FOR YOU AND FOR OTHER PARTIES. WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE A GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND

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THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, AND WE SHALL NOT DO SO IF WE PROVIDE A MECHANISM FOR RESOLVING DISPUTES WHICH ENDS BY TAKING THE WHOLE CONDUCT OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS OUT OF THEIR HANDS. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, PROVIDED FOR THE DESIGNATION BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF A JURIST OF INTERNATIONAL STANDING, TO BE LEGAL ADVISER TO THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, AND FOR DISPUTES OVER THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS OR DETAINEES TO BE RESOLVED TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ACTING ON THIS JURIST'S INDEPENDENT ADVICE. WE HAVE DONE SO BECAUSE WE RECOGNISE THAT THE IDENTIFICATION AND RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IS A SENSITIVE MATTER, BOTH FOR YOU AND FOR OTHERS, AND THAT SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE CONSEQUENTLY NECESSARY. YOU WILL ALREADY BE AWARE OF THE

PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE TOWARDS THE RELEASE OF NAMIBIANS HELD OUTSIDE NAMIBIA, AND YOU WILL ALSO BE AWARE THAT OUR PROPOSAL ENVISAGES AN IMPORTANT ROLE FOR THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHO IN TURN WILL NO DOUBT TRANSMIT TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER ANY CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY RELATIVES INSIDE THE TERRITORY.

13. WE RECOGNISE THAT OUR PROPOSAL MAY NOT BE ACCEPTABLE IN ALL DETAILS TO ANY OF THE PARTIES. IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE PAST NINE MONTHS, WE HAVE ESTABLISHED MORE COMMON GROUND THAN WE THOUGHT POSSIBLE. INEVITABLY, HOWEVER, THERE ARE MATTERS ON WHICH YOU HAVE RESERVATIONS. WE DO NOT EXPECT YOU TO ENDORSE OUR PROPOSAL WHOLEHEARTEDLY. WE HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT YOU WILL CONSIDER IT VERY SERIOUSLY INDEED AND NOT REJECT IT OUT OF HAND. WE HAVE NOT DESCRIBED OUR PROPOSAL AS "FINAL" BECAUSE NEGOTIATORS CAN SELDOM BE SO CATEGORIC. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, ONLY BE PREPARED TO CONTEMPLATE AMENDMENTS IF WE THOUGHT THEY MIGHT BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN SUCCESS AND FAILURE. IT IS NOW A QUESTION OF POLITICAL WILL. WE INTEND TO LAY OUR PROPOSAL BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL

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IN DUE COURSE, AND WE HOPE THAT THE COUNCIL WILL ACT UPON IT. IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOWS SIGNS OF

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FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

MOVING TOWARDS ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL, THIS IN ITSELF  
WILL BE AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH WHICH WOULD CERTAINLY  
ENCOURAGE US TO PURSUE OUR EFFORTS.

14. WE REAFFIRM THAT OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS WILL MAINTAIN  
AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION THROUGHOUT  
THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. WE ARE NOT GOING TO WASH  
OUR HANDS OF THE MATTER ONCE THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS  
PASSED ITS RESOLUTION. WE SHALL DO OUR UTMOST, IN THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL AND ELSEWHERE, TO MAKE SURE THAT ITS  
TERMS ARE FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT. WE ARE ABSOLUTELY  
DETERMINED THAT THE CHANCE OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN  
NAMIBIA SHOULD NOT BE JEOPARDISED THROUGH ANY NEGLECT  
ON OUR PART. WE HAVE CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT AT THE UNITED  
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NATIONS, AND WE INTEND TO USE IT.

15. FINALLY, WE ASK YOU TO BEAR IN MIND THE ENORMOUS  
REPERCUSSIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE SHOULD  
THERE BE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN  
NAMIBIA. WE WANT TO AVOID AN INCREASE IN TENSION IN  
SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND A MAJOR STEP IN ACHIEVING THIS GOAL  
WOULD BE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA  
WHICH IS SEEN TO HAVE THE BACKING OF THE POPULATION AS  
EXPRESSED IN FREE ELECTIONS CLOSELY SUPERVISED  
BY THE UNITED NATIONS. IF WE FAIL NOW TO BRING ABOUT  
A SETTLEMENT THERE, WE MAY ALL BE SADDLED WITH THE  
CONSEQUENCES FOR YEARS. LEONARD

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## Message Attributes

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**Status:** NATIVE  
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**To:** STATE DAR ES SALAAM  
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